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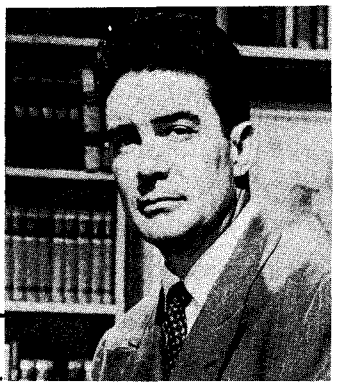

DAN SMOOT

POLITICAL ACTION FOR 1964

The frenzied and threatening attack on "right-wingers"; the farmers' vote in the 1963 Wheat Referendum; the fact that much of President Kennedy's major legislative program is still being delayed, if not stopped, in Congress; the fact that (so far, at least) the present Congress is voting more nearly in compliance with constitutional principles than any previous Congress has voted for years; the fact that many Americans, previously apathetic about governmental policies, are now gravely concerned about the direction of affairs in Washington; the fact that even Americans who have always supported the policies of totalitarian liberalism are now outraged by the gangster-like behavior of the Kennedy Administration — these are a few of the signs that a prolonged educational effort by constitutional conservatives has begun to have profound effect.

If the educational work is continued, and supplemented by intelligent political action from now until election day, 1964, we can turn the tide against totalitarian liberalism.

Independent Electors

The American Founding Fathers realized that voters on the frontiers and in remote areas of the Republic in the 18th Century could not get enough information about *national* candidates to make an informed choice at the polls. Hence, they devised the Electoral College system. Voters in each state would elect a group of respected local men (equal in number to the state's total delegation in Congress), to serve as Presidential Electors. At a fixed time, the elected Presidential Electors from all states would meet, as an Electoral College, to choose a President and Vice President of the United States. The Electors were to be independent, as individuals, to cast their votes in the Electoral College, as they saw fit. If members of the Electoral College could not muster a majority vote for one man as President, the presi-

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dential election would be deadlocked; and the House of Representatives (each State having one vote) would elect a President.

This arrangement is still in existence. As the party system came to dominate American politics, however, the intent and functioning of the Electoral College system were violated by the so-called "party pledge" which was presumed to be binding upon Presidential Electors; and by the custom of "bloc voting" in the Electoral College.

As the system *now* works, Democrats and Republicans each select, in every state, a slate of Presidential Electors to appear on the ballot in the general election. Voters seldom know the names of the Presidential Electors. Most voters do not seem to realize they are voting for electors: they think they are voting for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. But, in reality, as voters choose between Republican and Democrat nominees, they are actually voting, not for the nominees, but for Republican or Democrat electors in their State. The party electors, who get a majority of the popular vote, cast the state's entire electoral vote for party nominees.

Today, there is more practical need for the pure, constitutional Electoral College System of selecting a President than there was in the 18th Century. Today, the techniques of mass propaganda and mass thought-control make it even *more* impossible for the average voter to get credible information about a national personality running for President.

Present election practices enable political parties to stampede the public into making a choice between two presidential candidates who stand for the same thing — leaving voters no opportunity to register a preference for a philosophy of government, but permitting them only to choose between men whose real philosophies and personalities have been obscured by the bitterness and dishonesty of party rivalry and by the thunder of political propaganda.

The remarkable group of statesmen now known as the Founding Fathers, who wrote our Constitution in 1787, believed that the Electoral College System — affording the people some insulation against the heat and passions of a national election, and providing a checkmate against the popular tendency to follow blindly the most flamboyant or extravagantly financed candidate — would have a better chance to put great men into the Presidency than any system of direct elections could possibly have.

I agree with this view. The present system produces Presidents who promise one thing and then, after election, move in the opposite direction — claiming some emergency as the reason: in 1932, Roosevelt promised the people economy and adherence to constitutional principles, but gave them extravagance and contempt for the Constitution from 1933 onward; in 1940, Roosevelt promised the people peace, while arranging a war; in 1952, Eisenhower condemned such dangerous programs as federal aid to education and promised to clean up the mess in Washington, but, after election, recommended more federal aid to education than any previous President and made the Washington mess messier; in 1960, Kennedy promised a firm policy with regard to Cuba, but in 1961 made the weak Eisenhower policy even weaker.

Obviously, a President chosen by the Electoral College in the true spirit of the Constitution might also betray his campaign promises; but the constitutional way of electing Presidents and Vice Presidents of the United States is, at least, the best *known* way for this solemn responsibility to be discharged. Certainly, as long as it *is* the constitutionally prescribed method, it is the one that should be used.

The Independent Electors Movement — now very strong in the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi — is an effort to re-establish the brilliantly-conceived Electoral College System of selecting

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Presidents and Vice Presidents of the United States.

But political habits generations old have tainted, to some degree, operation of the Independent Electors Movement. In 1960, for example, voters in six southern states did "free" their electors: they elected men, on Democrat tickets, who were not pledged to support Kennedy. It was known that those who supported the Independent Electors Movement in these six states expected their Electors *not* to vote for Kennedy, under any circumstance. When the Electoral College met, however, only the Independent Electors of Mississippi, and half of those of Alabama refused to vote for Kennedy. Electors of four southern states, and half the Alabama electors, though put on the ballots and elected as "independents," voted for Kennedy in the Electoral College.

Independent Voters of the USA

In addition to the Independent Electors Movement, and various third-party efforts in several states, two intelligent plans for political action have originated in Dallas, Texas: Walter Reed's Independent Voters of the USA, and Frank McGehee's Political Coordinating Committee.

The essence of Walter Reed's plan is a pledge, which all members of Independent Voters of the USA, are asked to sign:

"In the election of 1964, I pledge to support only those candidates for President and Vice-President . . . who have shown *by past actions* that they will follow closely the Constitution of the United States. If neither major party nominates such candidates, I shall support any third party candidates who I know will follow closely the Constitution.

"I pledge *not* to support, in any way . . . Mr. John F. Kennedy, Mr. Robert Kennedy, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, or other men of their viewpoint."

Independent Voters will concentrate on recruiting members in 11 southern states. They feel there is broader public opposition to Kennedy Democrats and Rockefeller Republicans in the South than elsewhere, and believe that, if constitutional conservatives can control the 128 electoral votes of the South, they can control the presidential election in 1964 — or, at least, deny victory to either Kennedy or Rockefeller.

Independent Voters will try to get third-party electors for presidential and vice-presidential candidates on the ballot in all southern states. Some, or all, of the 11 southern states may agree on the same third party and the same candidates; or, each state may have an independent third party, running its own candidates for President and Vice President. In some southern states, where a respectable third party already exists, constitutionalists may support its efforts to get on the ballot with electors who will vote only for constitutionalist candidates. In other states, constitutionalists may organize a new party.

The idea is to *get on the ballot,* in every southern state, with presidential and vice-presidential electors who are constitutionalists.

Once organized and on the ballot with some kind of constitutionalist third party in 11 southern states, the Independent Voters will go to leaders of both major parties and say:

If, in your 1964 national convention, you nominate genuine, proven, constitutionalist conservatives for President and Vice President, we will disband our third-party movements in the southern states and give you maximum support. If you do not select candidates whom constitutionalists like, we will redouble our efforts and guarantee that your candidates will lose the 128 electoral votes of the South; and without those southern electoral votes, your candidates cannot win.

If — as is most likely — both Democrats and Republicans spurn constitutional conservatives in 1964 and select Kennedy and Rockefeller (or others like them), the people of the South, with good third-party candidates already on the ballot, will have a chance to keep either the Republican or the Democrat

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from getting the 128 southern Electoral College votes. This would throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives. If conservatives in the 39 states outside the South support this movement to the extent of electing constitutionalists to the House of Representatives, the House would elect a constitutionalist to be President.

The Independent Voters plan, to get third-party electors on the ballots *even in the five southern states where the Independent Electors Movement is already strong,* is intended to give voters some protection against a repetition of what happened in 1960. The Independent Voters can have direct interviews with every Independent Elector who may be on the ballot in 1964, explaining to the elector his right, if elected, to vote in the Electoral College as he pleases, but pinning him down to a specific promise that he will vote only for constitutionalist candidates, regardless of party label. If the Independent Electors in any state refuse to give clear and unequivocal promise, the conservatives can reject the Independent Electors in that state and vote for the third-party electors who are constitutionalists.

The Independent Voters plan is sound. Every constitutional conservative (not just in 11 southern states, but in all 50 states) who really wants to do something to obviate the disaster of a Rockefeller-versus-Kennedy presidential election in 1964 — and who is not already in touch with a movement which looks better to him than the Independent Voters plan — should write immediately, for full information, to Walter Reed, Independent Voters of the USA, P. O. Box 9691, Dallas 14, Texas.

Political Coordinating Committee

Frank McGehee organized the National Indignation Convention in 1961. For the past several months, he has been working, with considerable progress, on a plan for political action in 1964. His objective is the same as that of Walter Reed.

McGehee's Political Coordinating Committee is working nation-wide, and exclusively within the framework of the Republican and Democrat parties — on the presumption that there are enough well-informed constitutional conservatives to capture control of one or both major political parties, if the conservatives will go to work now, recruiting and organizing for political activity, in both parties, at all levels, from neighborhood precincts to the national conventions of 1964.

If their activities were properly organized and directed, constitutional conservatives could win control of a majority of the political precincts of both parties, in a majority of the counties, in most states of the Union. If this were done, conservatives would control county political conventions which elect delegates to state conventions. At the state conventions, conservative delegates, having a majority, would select conservatives as delegates to the national conventions — and would also select the slates of Presidential Electors to appear on ballots in the 1964 general elections. These Presidential Electors, selected *because* they are constitutionalists, would vote only for a constitutionalist as President, regardless of party label.

If the Political Coordinating Committee's plan of action at precinct, county, and state levels works successfully in both parties and in most states, then both Republicans and Democrats in 1964 will have national conventions controlled by conservatives and will therefore select conservatives as their presidential and vice-presidential candidates; and voters, at the polls, can make their choice on the basis of personal or party preference.

If the plan works successfully in only *one* major party (Republican, let us say), then the Republican National Convention of 1964 will nominate constitutional conservatives and the Democrats will nominate Kennedy and Johnson, or some other pair of totalitarian liberals.

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This would give voters a clearcut choice between freedom and socialism.

If the plan works successfully in only a *few* states, then, obviously, the conservative delegates which those states send to the Republican and Democrat national conventions of 1964 will be outvoted; and both conventions will do as they have been doing every presidential election year for more than a quarter of a century: they will write socialist platforms (while paying lip service to freedom and constitutional government); and they will nominate totalitarian liberals who pretend reverence for the Constitution which they obviously despise.

In this event, however, the Political Coordinating Committee's plan of action would still have on the ballot, in the few states where it worked successfully, Presidential Electors, known to be constitutionalists, who would not vote for their party nominees. If this happened in enough states to deny the presidential election to either Democrats or Republicans, it would have the same effect that the Independent Voters plan and the Independent Electors Movement would have — it would throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives, where conservatives would have a chance to make their voices heard.

Individuals interested in the Political Coordinating Committee plan of action, within the Democrat and Republican parties, should write to Frank McGehee, 3737 Van Ness Lane, Dallas 20, Texas.

Though the Independent Voters plan and the Political Coordinating Committee plan are different, and though they are rivals in the sense that individuals may make a choice between supporting one or the other, they are not in conflict. Indeed, they complement each other well.

Walter Reed and Frank McGehee are young, relatively unknown, and, as organizers of political action, relatively inexperienced. But the "old hands" have done nothing effective for the past three decades, and have produced nothing new or promising for 1964. It is time for conservatives to support young men with enough dedication and energy to try something sensible which shows promise — unless they can effectively organize something better.

Goldwater

Neither of the political-action plans, discussed above, conflicts with plans of other conservatives to promote such men as Senator Barry Goldwater (Republican, Arizona) as presidential candidates in 1964.

Goldwater has a good voting record in the Senate, and has made numerous stands and statements in support of constitutional principles. He does have what is called "political glamor," and is a better conservative than any other Republican who is equally well known throughout the nation.

On the other hand:

— In the 1950's, Goldwater joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and contributed $400 to that hate-inciting organization, which supports every major federal program to undermine the American constitutional system.[1]

— Goldwater has praised Governor Nelson Rockefeller as a "beacon of courage"[2] and has made numerous statements to the effect that there "are only very slight policy differences" between him and Rockefeller.[3]

— On April 14, 1961, Goldwater, in a speech to the Senate, said he was in favor of Kennedy's Peace Corps idea.[4]

— On August 9, 1961, Goldwater said that Republicans should not waste their time opposing the re-election of Senator J. William Fulbright in Arkansas. Goldwater remarked that "We [meaning Republicans] don't have anything against Bill."[5]

— On March 31, 1962, Goldwater praised Robert F. Kennedy as a "hard-hitting salesman

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of American ideals" and expressed a wish that Kennedy could become a "full-time, roving ambassador" for the United States. Goldwater was referring to Robert F. Kennedy's trip through the Far East, Europe, and elsewhere. One of Robert F. Kennedy's most widely publicized statements on this trip was an apology to the world for American behavior in the Mexican War of the 19th Century — the war which brought California and Texas, and a portion of Arizona, into the American Union. Goldwater said he had "a great regard for Bobby."[6]

Senator Goldwater's greatest disservice to the conservative movement occurred in 1960.

Many conservative leaders started as early as 1958, spending their time and money promoting Barry Goldwater as a candidate for President. Some who liked Goldwater feared, however, that he lacked the forceful qualities of leadership necessary if conservatives were to have any influence on the platform or nominations of the 1960 Republican National Convention; and that Goldwater, being, above all, a Republican party man, would throw his support behind *anyone* whom the Republicans might nominate in 1960.

Throughout 1958, 1959, and early 1960, many conservatives were worried about the drive to pin all hope on Goldwater. They felt it was all right to support Goldwater, but believed that some time and money should be put in an effort (then being made without adequate financing or leadership) to get Independent Electors or third-party candidates on the ballots in 1960 — so that, if Goldwater weakened and threw his support to someone like Nixon or Rockefeller in 1960, conservatives would still have a chance to accomplish something.

Others were convinced that, if conservatives could show real strength at the 1960 Republican National Convention, Goldwater would fight for his own nomination, and would bolt the Convention and lead a protest movement if the Convention nominated Nixon or Rockefeller or anyone like them.

The counsel of caution was ignored. Important conservative leaders put all their effort behind Goldwater; and they made a tremendous show of strength for him at the 1960 Republican National Convention. Even left-wing commentators covering the Convention (Edward R. Murrow and Eric Sevareid, for example) observed, during the opening days of that gathering, that it was a Goldwater Convention, emphatically.

Goldwater gave the conservatives no leadership whatever. He spurned their pleas for leadership. At a critical moment, he folded and gave his support to Nixon. Thus, in 1960, Goldwater, in effect, played the role of a Judas goat, leading the conservative political movement up a blind alley where it was blackjacked.

Conservatives now booming Goldwater for President in 1964 should take the precaution they failed to take prior to 1960. They should continue to support Goldwater if they think this a good means of building conservative strength in the Republican Party; but, for the sake of our Republic, they should not devote *all* of their political effort to Goldwater. They should give some of their time and money to efforts which will put constitutionalists on the ballots as Presidential Electors in 1964, so that, if Goldwater again fails the cause, all constitutional conservatives will have some place to go, and some genuine choice to make, on election day.

Thurmond and Others

Senator Strom Thurmond (Democrat, South Carolina) is, in my opinion, the best conservative in the Senate. There is considerable support for Thurmond as a presidential candidate in 1964 — among various third-party groups, and also within the Democrat Party.

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Do not believe the political cliche that a southerner could not be elected President. The people of the nation would elect as President a real constitutional conservative, regardless of what section he comes from, if they had a chance. It does seem obvious, however, that a southerner has little chance to be *nominated* for President, by either major political party.

My advice to Thurmond supporters, therefore, is essentially the same as my advice to Goldwater supporters — and to supporters of other known conservatives, such as Senator John Tower (Republican, Texas): support your favorite conservative if you feel that this helps build conservative strength in one of the two major parties, or if it helps strengthen some intelligent third-party movement in your state; but, beyond that, work to get constitutional conservatives on the ballot in all states, as Presidential Electors, in 1964. This is the only way to *guarantee* that conservatives will have a chance to act politically, in the interest of saving our Republic, if Republicans and Democrats give us the tweedle-dee, tweedle-dum choice of Kennedy versus Rockefeller — or a choice equally dismal, and harmful to the cause of liberty.

Reports On Disarmament

The imminent possibility of a Kennedy disarmament decision, which could surrender American independence and leave our nation helpless, troubles every well-informed patriot. This subject was discussed in three recent issues of this *Report* — Disarmament — Parts I, II and III, dated May 6, May 13, and May 20, 1963. Background material on the subject is in three older *Reports,* which are still available: "Disarmament — Surrender to World

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WHAT YOU CAN DO

Washington officialdom uses your taxes for programs that are creating vast cesspools of waste and corruption — and dragging our Republic into the quicksands of socialism. But what can you do about it?

You can help educate and arouse the people who elect men responsible for harmful programs of government. When enough other Americans know and care as you do, political action to restore our Republic will come.

If *The Dan Smoot Report* was instrumental in bringing you to the point of asking what *you* can do about saving the country from mushrooming big government, here is a checklist for you: Have you urged others to subscribe to the *Report*? Have you sent them reprints of a particular issue of the *Report*? Have you shown them a Dan Smoot film? Have you ever suggested a Bound Volume of *The Dan Smoot Report* for use by speakers, debaters, students, writers? Have you read and passed on to others any of the Dan Smoot books — *The Invisible Government, The Hope Of The World, America's Promise*?

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Government," dated March 28, 1960; "Strategic Surrender," dated December 11, 1961; and "Defense or Surrender?" dated March 26, 1962.

These three old issues and the recent three-part series on disarmament are available as a set of 6 for $1.00.

Have You Seen This?

A United Press International dispatch with a Frankfurt, Germany, dateline, published in the May 30, 1963, issue of *The Los Angeles Times*:

"Official U.S. sources indicated Wednesday that overseas civilian employees of the Pentagon and wives and older children of American servicemen stationed abroad soon may be required to wear uniforms, making them subject to military trial.

"An Air Force spokesman said the Army and Air Force were considering a plan along these lines devised by Maj. Gen. Albert M. Kuhfeld, judge advocate of the Air Force.

"The Kuhfeld plan was intended to solve the problem created by the U.S. Supreme Court's 1957 ruling that servicemen's relatives and civilian employees abroad could not be court-martialed for capital crimes.

"The spokesman said the plan envisions the creation of a 'military support corps' for soldiers' and airmen's dependents over 18.

"No one would be required to join either corps, but no one who refused to do so would be sent abroad by the armed forces, the spokesman said.

"The Overseas Family, a private publication, published an interview with Kuhfeld saying that members of the proposed corps also would be required to sign a statement waiving the right to civilian trial before being sent overseas."

FOOTNOTES

(1) "People," *The Dallas Morning News,* March 27, 1963, Section 1, p. 3

(2) "Judd Says G.O.P. Lost By Frauds," by Wayne Phillips, *The New York Times,* January 29, 1961

(3) AP dispatch from Washington, *The Dallas Morning News,* April 17, 1961

(4) Remarks of U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater, *Congressional Record,* April 14, 1961, p. 5569

(5) "Goldwater Sees No GOP Effort on Fulbright," AP story from Washington, *The Dallas Times Herald,* August 9, 1961, p. A-26

(6) "Bob Kennedy Ideal Envoy, Admiring Goldwater Says," UPI dispatch from New York City, *The Dallas Times Herald,* April 1, 1962, p. A-2

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WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU in Dallas, getting BA and MA degrees in 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American Civilization.

In 1942, he left Harvard and joined the FBI. As an FBI Agent, he worked for three and a half years on communist investigations in the industrial Midwest; two years as an administrative assistant to J. Edgar Hoover on FBI headquarters staff in Washington; and almost four years on general FBI cases in various parts of the nation.

In 1951, Smoot resigned from the FBI and helped start Facts Forum. On Facts Forum radio and television programs, Smoot spoke to a national audience, giving *both sides* of controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his present independent publishing and broadcasting business — a free-enterprise operation financed entirely by profits from sales: sales of *The Dan Smoot Report,* a weekly magazine; and sales of a weekly news-analysis broadcast, to business firms, for use on radio and television as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and the broadcast give only *one* side in presenting documented truth about important issues — the side that uses the American Constitution as a yardstick. The *Report* is available by subscription; and the broadcasts are available for commercial sponsorship, anywhere in the United States.

If you think Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for Americans fighting socialism and communism, you can help immensely — by helping him get more customers for his *Report* and broadcasts.

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